

Equal Rights Before the Law for all Men—Social Conditions will Regulate Themselves.

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Devoted to the interests of the FREEDMEN OF THE SOUTH and the establishment and maintenance of EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL MEN, regardless of class or color.

Gen. Schenck's Amendment.
Gen. Schenck, of Ohio, has proposed an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, fixing the basis of representation in the lower house of Congress on the number of voters and not of inhabitants. In the course of a recent speech on this subject, he made use of the following remarks:—

Let us look into this matter, and I especially ask the attention of any Democrats who may be present, for I want them to answer whether there is anything anti-Democratic or anti-Republican in this proposition. By the present three-fifths rule, supposing the slaves still to remain in bondage, the following were some of the results:

Maine, by the census of 1860, had a population of 626,959, and this population was allowed five representatives.

Alabama had a population of 526,431, just 100,000 less than Maine, but she was allowed, under the three-fifths rule seven members—two more than Maine.

Vermont had a population of 314,386, upon which she was allowed three representatives.

South Carolina had a population of 291,385—20,000 less than Vermont, and upon that, because of the large number of her slaves, she was allowed six representatives—twice as many as Vermont, though Vermont has the greatest free white population.

Pennsylvania, with a population of 2,849,266, is allowed twenty-four representatives; while North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana, all combined, have an aggregate free population of 2,829,785—10,000 less than Pennsylvania alone—and yet they are allowed thirty-nine representatives—fifteen more than the same population in a free State.

But let the Constitution of the United States stand unchanged, slavery being extinguished, and what will follow? Why, that the other two-fifths will be represented, and how many of these are there in the slave States? 1,580,212 more will be represented, when you come to add the other two-fifths. This will give to the South, in addition to the great advantage she already has, fourteen more votes in Congress. Then the Southern States I have mentioned in connection with Pennsylvania will have fifty votes in Congress, to her twenty-four, while having only the same voting population.

By the adoption of the amendment to the Constitution that I propose, it is true that it may become a question with the people of Ohio whether they will, in case the South enfranchises its black population in order to get a representation for them, do the same for the colored people. For myself, I am willing to meet the South on this ground. If they can afford to give the ballot to their millions, surely we can afford to give it to our thousands.

But this is a question for the future, and I shall not discuss it now. Let us amend the Constitution so as to make it to the interest of the Southern States to have their negroes vote, if they think proper. In the process of time, as the negroes become educated and fitted for the right of suffrage, if they wish to widen their representation by giving them the right to vote, well and good. But, until they do that, they must stand where they do in regard to representation.

This is the platform upon which I propose to stand. I shall not discuss the question whether we shall force upon the rebel States negro suffrage. I will not discuss the question whether we shall allow them to vote in any of the States. I would simply so amend the Constitution in favor of freedom and in favor of equal representation, as that these people shall see it to their interest to let every intelligent lover of freedom vote, and give them the privilege of so doing if they choose.

In referring to this matter, the *New York Evening Post*, remarks as follows:—
"The proposition has this merit; it relates to no class, but is based upon a principle of general application. It is intended to correct, and to prevent hereafter a very serious evil. The States have, by general consent, the exclusive right to determine who, in each, shall enjoy the privilege of voting. It would not be easy to take this right from them and transfer it to the general government; nor perhaps, if it were practicable, would it be advisable. It has been suggested that Congress may deprive who shall be electors for President and Members of Congress; but this would be to leave a matter open to frequent and arbitrary change, which should be once for all settled. Moreover, the exercise of this right would be of doubtful authority, and in such important affairs it is better to have no doubts; then the acquiescence of the people is hearty. If nothing is done, then a part of the people of any State may at any time disfranchise the remainder, and yet have the benefit of their residence, by their enumeration as part of the representative population.
"The proposed system will still leave it with each State to determine who shall vote; if in any State the majority think it necessary to disfranchise the minority,

they are at liberty to do so. But they will be the losers, in political influence in the general council of the nation, by the indulgence of their anti-democratic course; and they ought to be."

Thus we see that, as it is now held by some of our most eminent statesmen, there would be no change in the power of each State over the right of franchise. But the ambition of place-seekers, and the laudable desire of each State to have as much influence as possible in the national councils, would, if the amendment were adopted, prevent the exercise of any such power—assumed or not—to the detriment of any portion of its citizens, the result would be the enactment of laws authorizing extended suffrage privileges, and having in view the advancement, intellectually, of every citizen. On this point the *Post* says:—

"But, it may be urged, there may be persons in some States who are not capable of wisely exercising the voting power. In this case the influence of such an amendment will be very strong, to induce the people to secure such training and education to this ignorant class as will make them trustworthy and intelligent voters. Now this is precisely the point which it is most desirable to gain—the spread of useful education amongst all classes. At present a considerable number of men talk of narrowing the franchise to exclude the ignorant classes in our cities. We have always opposed such a measure as unwise, and contended that the true remedy for an acknowledged evil, is to give more attention to the diffusion of education. The proposed amendment will unite the whole people upon this point. It will be to the interest of every man in this State, for instance, to secure for ourselves the largest voting population; and because ignorance and vice are dangerous at the polls, it will become a matter of importance to ourselves—to the whole community—to adopt such measures and such a policy as shall extirpate ignorance and lessen vice.
"It may be objected that if such an amendment were passed the States would at once open the polls to every one, regardless of character, residence or any other qualifications. It is easy to provide limits in the amendment to prevent the abuse of the power. The terms of citizenship, now sometimes a matter of dispute, ought to be declared in it.

"The next enumeration takes place in 1870. Until then the representation in the South is upon the basis of three-fifths of the black people and all the whites.—On the present enumeration only one more Congress will be elected. If the amendment of Mr. Schenck should meet with favor, and be passed next winter, it would be an inducement to the leading men in the South to further the education of the blacks, so as to make them, even in their opinion, capable of exercising the franchise intelligently after 1870; and thus they might, by general consent, be counted in the enumeration of voters in our Southern States whose people desire to profit by doing justice. But if any State should choose to continue the disfranchisement of the blacks, or any other class, that would not affect the rights or the position in the Union of any other State; and could not, therefore, give rise to reasonable complaints from other States."

Negro Voting—Hear both Sides.
An eminent Tennessean—who, we believe, voted to ratify the Secession of his State, but has been loyal ever since she was reconquered to the Union—writes us to say at much length that he very much approves all we have said in favor of Universal Amnesty, but utterly condemns our advocacy of Universal Suffrage. Let us hear what he says to the point, as follows:

"In your plea for Universal Amnesty, I agree with you, that it will best effect the great ends of peace, and be promotive of the best interests of the country. If a few exceptions were made, I should not object. But, in your advocacy of Universal Suffrage, I think you go that much too far. The country is not prepared for such a step; nor are the intended recipients of the high privilege competent to wisely exercise that great power. The Government is based upon the supposed *virtue and intelligence* of the people. All men agree that the negro is a free man; but who supposes, even, that he possesses the *virtue and intelligence* to wisely and *understandingly* exercise the Right? By such an enactment, over 400,000 ignorant persons, who know no more of the genius and workings of our institutions than they know of the geography of the moon, would be added to our great mass, already too large, of unlettered and ignorant voters. If any change is to be made in the Elective Franchise, let it be restricted to those who have the intelligence to use, and not abuse the privilege—not by a property qualification, but by requiring all who offer to vote at least to know how to read and write.
"In God's name, if you would pre-

serve the liberties of our country, intrust power only to those who, when they vote, can vote understandingly.

"I do not purpose to enter into a discussion of the many questions opened by this letter, but merely touch on some prominent points. The negro now has freedom. Let him take that, and improve his situation, and at least wait for time and experience and the developments and advancements he may make, before he asks the Right of Suffrage.—The White man, even though he be unfriendly to him, is better prepared to legislate for the negro than he is to legislate for himself. He is now but "mewling and puking" in the arms of his deliverers from the bondage of Slavery; let him at least advance by degrees—try crawling first—then see if he can walk. When it is proved that he can stand erect, enjoy and appreciate his freedom, and understand its great principles—its responsibilities—then will be time enough to talk of his voting to make laws for the country and carry on the Government."

To all which thus responds THE TARBUNE:

I. The country not being prepared (as our correspondent avers) for Impartial Suffrage, we are trying to prepare it.

II. We have over and again explained that we ask no exemption for Blacks from any merely intellectual or literary test of fitness and capacity that bears equally upon all classes. We will gladly agree that none shall vote but those who can read—or read and write—or who pay taxes—or to any other touchstone calculated to confine the Right of Suffrage to the capable and worthy. Why, then, do our antagonists coolly dodge our position and fight instead a man of straw of their own construction? Can't they answer us without evasion? or won't they?

III. We lack evidence that the Blacks of the South are exceptionally ignorant or stupid. On the contrary, we hold them fairly intelligent, while eagerly acquiring knowledge. We believe them in the average no whit less enlightened than the "Poor Whites," all of whom can vote.

IV. And it is clearly untrue that the extension of Suffrage we seek would increase the power of ignorance in our political affairs. On the contrary, it will vastly diminish it. That power coheres not in the number of the ignorant voters, but in their consciousness. In the South, they nearly all vote one way. A million unlettered voters, fairly divided between the two great parties, would do less mischief than One Hundred Thousand voting unanimously and steadily on one side. And, if all the Blacks voted to-day, that circumstance would lessen, not increase, the power of ignorance in our party conflicts. Restriction of Suffrage is scarcely possible; not so with Extension, whereby the power of the most benighted and degraded portion of our White voters would be lessened.

V. Our correspondent asserts that "the negro now has his freedom." Relatively, this is true; absolutely, it is not. Negro freedom in Tennessee (for instance) is not the genuine article.

VI. If the Declaration of Independence was not based on a lie, one man or class can't legislate for another; to attempt to do so is a mistake, certain to result in calamity. Governments "derive their just power from the consent of the governed," says the Declaration. We have great respect for our correspondent; but we have more faith in the Declaration and its authors.

VII. The negroes have been "crawling" a tiresome while. They propose now to stand erect, for a change; and we would help them to do so.

VIII. Our Tennessee friend wants the Rebel Amnesty hurried up, but thinks Black Suffrage can wait a while. The Blacks say, No; it is "now or never" with them. And we believe they have a correct notion of the matter. Give us Peace with Universal Amnesty and Restoration without Black Suffrage, and the great opportunity will have passed unimproved. The Southern Whites will say, "Why agitate for Black Suffrage now? Isn't all quiet? Let well alone, and give the land rest!" And if any petition and agitate for the right, they will be stigmatized as disturbers of the Peace.

IX. We agree with our correspondent in wishing the negro to be educated, and qualified to teach, and fitted to enjoy and appreciate freedom. But, in order to do so, he must have the real article to appreciate. We fear he is not likely to get it just yet.

WHERE WILL THEY GO TO.—The latest news from the empire of Brazil, is that there is an "Abolition party" making its appearance in that great country. What dreadful news for the Southern gentlemen who have contemplated emigrating to Brazil. They have no refuge from the "abolitionists," it appears, save in Dahomey.

An irritable old copperhead, of Verona, Ind., named Jerome, has been arrested for cowardly his daughter until her back was scared, because she had been reading a memorial volume on Abraham Lincoln.

Reunion of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

While the overwhelming majority of the Southern Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, are declaring themselves decidedly opposed to an ecclesiastical reunion with the churches of the loyal State, the Southern Episcopalians obviously are favorably disposed toward a reunion. One diocese—Texas—has already, by a formal vote, reacknowledged the authority of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, and elected clerical and lay delegates to attend the impending General Convention at Philadelphia. Tennessee had never joined the Episcopal Church of the Confederate States; and the Diocesan Convention which, a few days ago, was in session in Nashville, had, therefore, no need of formally rescinding a secession ordinance, but, without any reference to the past, chose the usual number of delegates to the General Convention.

The Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the Confederate States, Bishop Elliot of Georgia—one of the most ardent champions of the rebellion among the Southern Bishops—has also declared himself favorable to a reunion, which, he thinks, will speedily be consummated.—He objects, however, to the separate action taken by the Diocese of Texas, and insists that another "General Council" of the Church in the Confederate States be held; that by this Council a committee of bishops, clergymen and laymen be appointed to meet a similar committee to be appointed by the General Convention of the Church of the United States, and that this joint committee mature a plan of reunion. The Bishop, in the name of the South, demands, as a condition of reunion, the acknowledgment of the official acts of the Church in the Confederate States by the General Government of the United States. The bishops of North Carolina and Arkansas have declared their assent to the views of Bishop Elliot. The Diocesan Convention of Georgia has likewise endorsed these views, declared in favor of a reunion with the Church in the North, and authorized the Bishop to send, if he deems it best, the delegates elected by the Convention, as delegates to the General Council of the Southern Episcopal Church, to Philadelphia to attend the General Convention of the United States. The *Church Intelligencer*, of Charlotte, N. C., which claims to be the accredited organ of all Southern bishops except those of Virginia and South Carolina, says:

Thus far, only two of the Southern bishops, those of Mississippi and Alabama, have declared their preference for the continuance of a separate organization of the Southern Diocese; but they will yield to any resolutions passed by the approaching General Council of the Southern Church. That the majority of this Council will endorse the views of Bishop Elliot, admits of hardly any doubt. The Southern bishops and dioceses without imposing any conditions or asking any questions. Still, there will not be a unanimity on this subject. There will be delegates in Philadelphia who will take the ground that, with the views of the Southern bishops and dioceses on the Rebellion and on Slavery unchanged, it will be profitable neither for the churches in the loyal States nor for those in the late Confederate, to show an undue haste in consummating the reunion. At all events, the proceedings of the Convention at Philadelphia on this subject promise to be of a very interesting character. —*N. Y. Tribune.*

Patience.
The most contradictory statements come to us from the South in regard to the sentiments of the people in that quarter of the country. The newspapers printed on the spot are unanimous in the statement that all is peace and acquiescence in the results of the war. Nobody, they tell us, denies the authority of the General Government, or proposes resistance to its authority. On the other hand, the correspondents of Northern journals, and the verbal reports made by travellers, concur in representing the Southern people as almost universally sullen and disloyal in feeling. We have no difficulty in conceiving that there is a substantial basis of truth for each of these representations; and, indeed, it would be singular if they were not both true in the main. For, in the first place, the overwhelming defeat of the rebellion is too palpable to the common sense of men to leave a lingering hope of reviving the contest. None but madmen, therefore, or very silly women, cherish a thought of Southern separation. Cases of individual violence may arise, but it is true, as the Southern newspapers represent, that the whole South submits to the National Government, and only hopes for relief from its present deplorable situation through the process of reorganization under the constitution.

In the second place, it would be equally strange if four years of civil war, unequalled in the world's history for the fierce conflict of human passions and for

the tremendous display of physical power, should be followed by the immediate conversion of the conquered party to the views and policy of the conquerors. It is to expect a miracle to ask such a thing. Nothing of the kind ever happened in the tide of human affairs, and it is the very error of the moon to look for it.—We have a right to call upon the Southern people to conquer their prejudices; but we must give them a reasonable time in which to do so, and in the meantime we can only demand submission to the constitution and laws. A whole generation of Southern people has been educated to believe that slavery is a divine institution; or, at any rate, that their honor, wealth and happiness were identified with its preservation. It is but fair to give them a few years in which to get rid of these "guilty fantasies," and bring their minds to a realization of the fact that there are other forms of social life as good, if not better than that to which they had been accustomed, and which they had fondly cherished as the very fountain-spring of human happiness.

Nothing is more certain than that the passions which brought about the rebellion will die out. All experience of human affairs, and all the analogies of nature sustains the conclusion. But time will be necessary for the process of cooling to take place, and it were as idle and preposterous to expect a sudden subsidence of tides, or an instantaneous congealment of a field of molten lava, as the immediate restoration of the spirit of loyalty.—*Washington Chronicle.*

THE NEWSPAPER APPRECIATED.—Without my newspaper, life would narrow itself to the small limits of my personal experience, and humanity be compressed into the ten or fifteen people I mix with. Now, I refuse to accept this. I have not a sixpence in consols, but I want to know how they stand. I was never—I never in all likelihood shall be—in Japan; but I have an intense curiosity to know what our troops did at Yokohama. I deplore the people who suffered by that railroad smash; and I sympathize with the newly married couple so beautifully depicted in the illustrated, as they drove off in a chaise and four, the bald old gent in the hall door waving them a last adieu. I like the letters of the correspondents, with their little grievances about unpunctual trains, or some unwarrantable omissions in the liturgy. I even like the people who chronicle the rain fall, and record little facts about the mildness of the season. As for the advertisements, I regard them as the glass and mirror of the age. Show me and I engage myself to give a sketch of the current civilization of the period. What glimpses of rare interiors do we gain by these brief paragraphs! How full of suggestiveness and of story are they!—*Blackwood's Magazine.*

TIME WASTED.—A dreadful account must be given of all this lost and wasted time. When the Judge shall ascend His throne in the air, and all the sons and daughters of Adam are brought before Him, the grand enquiry will be, What have you done with all the time of life you yonder world? You spent thirty or forty years there, or perhaps seventy or eighty, and I gave you this time, with a thousand opportunities and means of grace and salvation, and what have you done with them all? How many sermons have you heard? How many seasons did I give you for prayer and retirement, and converse with God and your own souls? Did you improve time well? Did you pray? Did you converse with your own souls and with God? Or did you suffer them to slide away in a thousand impertinences, and neglect the one thing necessary?

A fruitless and bitter mourning for the waste and abuse of time will be another consequence of your folly. Whatever satisfaction you may take now in passing away time merrily, and without thinking, it must not pass away so forgotten. If the approaches of death do not awaken you, judgment will do it. Your consciences will be writhed with terrible reflections on your foolish conduct.—*Dr. Watts.*

SEWING COLLARS.—"Let me look at some collars," said a gaunt, rough looking fellow, addressing the proprietor of a country store not a hundred miles from Montreal. "With pleasure, sir," was the response; and the stock of collars was shown to the customer, who fumbled them over, and then, with a gesture of contempt, turned away with the remark that they were not the kind he wanted. "What kind do you want?" queried the shopkeeper. "We have most every kind." "Well, its seeseh collars; them's the style for me!" "Walk right this way—we have that kind too," was the response, as the shopkeeper unrolled about eight feet of hemp cord, and quickly twisting it into a loop, held it up before the astonished gaze of the "seeseher." He had no more to say, but quietly took his departure.

MISSISSIPPI FREEDMEN.—The *Vicksburg Journal* says:—"Nearly ten thousand acres of land have been leased to colored people in the vicinity of Vicksburg the present year, and that most of it is in process of successful cultivation. There are about two hundred and fifty or three hundred of these lessees, most of whom have formed partnerships with Northern men, to procure the means of carrying on their enterprises."

The *Charleston News* is engaged in the laudable endeavor of persuading the late masters to preserve and protect the black population. Of course, economical advantage, always attends truth and justice, and great loss follows oppression.

ABOUT HAITI.—Our national troubles have been of so much moment that our people have overlooked the civil war which has been raging in the little negro republic of Haiti for some time past. Yet, allowing for the thinness of the population there the contest has been proportionally as sanguinary as our own. Geffard, the ruling President, is a man of good repute to the outside world; but a large minority, at least, of the Haytiens profess to believe that he is a minister of liberalism and cruelty. As he has declared himself President for life, there is no way of getting rid of him, except by revolution, and this is now being tried. By the latest reports it seems the insurgents have gained important military successes, and there was a fair chance of their final success in clearing Geffard out of the country.

The revolutionists are led by a committee of ten chiefs, who have sent commissioners to Washington to lay their side of the question before the United States Government, so that no action prejudicial to their interests shall be taken. As the Geffard minister has been duly recognized, of course the rebel commissioners must be received informally, if at all.

THE MARTYR'S GRAVE.—A correspondent writing from Springfield, Ill., says:

The tomb of Mr Lincoln has been so often described that no fresh words of ours will increase the vividness of the picture. The remains are still unburied, and lie in the reception house, just as they came from Washington watered by the tears of a nation. A guard tent is pitched opposite to this house of the dead, on a rising knoll, surrounded by trees. Three sentries guard the sacred remains night and day, and the stone doors are kept open, so that the air may circulate freely through the place. An iron gate protects the remains from a close intrusion, although one can see the two coffins—those of the father, and of the dear little son, who was carried here from Washington with him, to their final resting place. The grounds are very wild and beautiful, and capable of the greatest improvement, as soon as the trees landscape gardener shall appear. It is laid out in roads and lots, and interspersed with patches of greenery, and fine shrubs, and beds of flowers.—Streams of delicious water run through it, and birds sing in the grand old forest trees—the aborigines of nature. It is altogether as beautiful as the vale of Tempe, described by Anacharsis.

ALL WILL BE WELL.—General Howard takes issue directly with General Cox, of Ohio, in regard to the arbitrary separation of the races. In an address before the Freedmen's Relief Society of Maine last week he took occasion to speak definitely against this attempt to revive the exploded folly of colonization. He said:—"I think that all we have to do is to aim at absolute justice to whites and blacks, watching the signs of the times, and keeping a steady rein. I am quite sanguine of the result." In this spirit the best work that is now being done in this country.

PRO-SLAVERY AGENTS.—The man who killed Rev. E. P. Lovejoy, the first martyr to anti-slavery faith and practice, was killed in a bar-room fight, and the man who set fire to the roof of his building died in the Ohio Penitentiary, to which he had been sentenced for eighteen years for highway robbery. Sylvester Irwin, the young man who recently killed his father and step-mother, near Darttown, Butler county, was the leader of the mob who drove the negroes away from Darttown, some time ago.

GEN. GRANT.—It is not long since the Democratic papers claimed Gen. Grant as belonging to their own party. Now the *Hartford Times* abuses him with its choicest epithets, accuses him of making an election tour, and says he is inferior looking, and that he makes no speeches because he cannot. The Democrats are welcome to all the party capital they can make by abusing General Grant. Loyal men of all parties honor him.—*Springfield (Mass.) Republican.*

WISCONSIN, IOWA AND MINNESOTA vote on the question of granting suffrage to colored men this Fall. Wisconsin has refused once to perform this act of justice, and it is to be feared that she will repeat her refusal. The regular Union convention ignored the subject entirely in their platform; but a seceding convention is to be held very soon which has been called expressly to correct this error. Colorado has already voted on the subject but the result is not known.

FOOLISH SPECULATIONS.—Speculators are engaged in buying up rebel currency, in expectation that eventually it will have an appreciable value. The assertion is openly made in Washington that inducements will be brought to bear upon some future Congress that will secure a recognition of the rebel debt. That is the copperhead programme.

The number of men furnished by the South to rebel armies amount to 1,124,000, of whom 660,000 are dead or disabled. These figures exceed by many thousands the number of men between the ages of 18 and 45.

Both the new State Conventions of South Carolina and Alabama are in session. A series of resolutions expressing discontent were voted down in the South Carolina Convention.

A cargo of corn arrived at Providence recently from Virginia, the first quantity imported from the South for many years.

Mrs. Nancy Blanchard, eighty-four years old, hung herself at Northboro, Massachusetts, last week.

Light gymnastic exercises are to be introduced in the public schools of Philadelphia.

The citizens of Vicksburg recently gave a banquet to Gen. Slocum.